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has been completely occupied and that it can have originated in no other way than through conquest and subjugation. The justification and *raison d'être* of the state are the economic exploitation of those subjugated. The form of political control resulting from the exploits of the robber-warriors and the property-owning class who subjugate and despoil the weak and poor is described in these subdivisions: "The genesis of the state," "Primitive feudal state," "Maritime state," "Developed feudal state," and "Constitutional state."

The outlook is not so pessimistic as might at first seem, for the author sees in the future a form of organization based upon a freeman's citizenship in which the class division of society based upon political domination and subjugation will cease. It is claimed that, the eternally inseparable terms, government and class-exploitation will be disassociated in the future when the state will ultimately disappear and society will be guided by the benign principles and practices of self-government.

This study furnishes an interesting and suggestive account of one phase, the socio-economic, in the development of that complex organization known as the state. It is frankly a one-sided treatment, which contains much in state development that may unfortunately be said to the discredit of humankind. To those who delight in neglecting or ignoring legal forms and practices and cultural interests and who are prone to emphasize the socio-economic viewpoint, this study will undoubtedly commend itself. It is to say the least a stimulating treatment of a somewhat neglected phase of human evolution.

CHARLES GROVE HAINES

The life of Thomas Brackett Reed. By Samuel W. McCall. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1914. 303 p. \$3.00 net)

The most valuable episode in the life of Thomas B. Reed, and the best known, gives further proof to the generalization that social progress comes often through the needs of selfishness. For generations congress acted upon the assumption that a quorum to do business consists of those members present who are willing to vote; and that members by sitting silently in their seats may destroy a quorum, however numerous may be the physical presence of congressmen. Even Reed was a supporter of this old rule until necessity, in the fifty-first congress, drove him as speaker to count as present members who were in their seats, whether voting or not. The storm that broke over him as "Czar" upon this occasion, left him unpopular, but right; and in a few years more he saw the reasonable new rule given the sanction of his political opponents.

Mr. McCall makes much of this episode of Reed's speakership — let-

ting it stand as the center of the most important part of his career. The author has sat in many congresses himself and appreciates those qualities in his subject that made of him a cool and courageous parliamentarian. He has given what is in effect the conclusions of his own life, in the form of biography of his old friend. His familiarity with congressional politics through participation in them adds to both the strength and the weakness of his work. He has relied less upon sources than would have been desirable; he has given interpretations that few historians could hope to match. He refers occasionally to letters and diaries of Reed — even to a diary kept in French — but he seems to have used these sources rarely. He has made the book a history of Reed's times, with Reed as central figure, rather than a painstaking study of either his personality or his real share in public events.

Reed was first elected to congress in 1876, and remained in his seat until his resignation after his reëlection in 1898. He was minority leader after 1885, speaker, 1889-1891 and 1895-1899. He belonged to that element of the republican party that drew its inspiration from the slavery-restriction issues, and defended on principle the "American system" and "sound money." He was never on the inside of the group that gave to the party its amalgamation with business and finance. In 1896 he was a rival of McKinley for the nomination, having the support of the idealistic wing of the party, including Roosevelt and Lodge. "Oh, Lord!" wrote the former of these to him, on July 31, 1896, "what would I not give if only you were our standard-bearer." But in a few more months even these passed out of sympathy with Reed when they took up the war with Spain and the creation of a colonial empire. His resignation, after the election of 1898 had confirmed the McKinley administration in its course, is one of the dates that mark the complete renascence of the republican party.

Mr. McCall has done well the things that he has undertaken to do, and his book will be a useful addition to our materials on the eighties and nineties.

FREDERIC L. PAXSON

Reconstruction in North Carolina. By J. G. de Rouhac Hamilton, Ph. D., alumni professor of history, University of North Carolina. [Studies in history, economics and public law edited by the faculty of political science of Columbia University, vol. LVIII, whole no. 141.] (New York: Columbia University, 1914. 683 p. \$4.00)

Mr. Hamilton's *Reconstruction in North Carolina* covers the period 1860 to 1876. It is a comprehensive study. Of the seventeen chapters